

12 February 1969

MEMORANDUM FOR : Director of Central Intelligence

SUBJECT : A new book: The Central Intelligence Agency: Problems of Secrecy in a Democracy

1. This memorandum is for information only to invite your attention to a new book The Central Intelligence Agency: Problems of Secrecy in a Democracy (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath and Company, 1968), edited by Young Hum Kim. Kim is associated with California Western University (United States International University), a private institution in San Diego, affiliated with the Methodist Church.

2. The Central Intelligence Agency is a collection of articles by various authors, a "reader", one of a series entitled "Problems in Political Science," under the editorial direction of Neal Riemer, of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. The publisher, D. C. Heath and Company, a Division of Raytheon Education Company, is an old, established school-book firm. We have no information regarding the author.

3. In his introduction, Kim states that

"Any governmental organization in a democracy which operates in secrecy, such as the CIA (although its activities are primarily directed toward foreign powers), tends to resort to totalitarian means to achieve its ends. As a result, such an agency, particularly but not exclusively in its overseas operations, invariably violates the ethics of a democratic and constitutional society and may ignore that due process of law which has safeguarded fundamental democratic rights and liberties." (p. 2)

On the other hand, Kim notes that "democracy cannot totally preclude elements of secrecy" in an age where its vital national interests are threatened. Therefore, he suggests (although one feels that his heart isn't in it) that "the creation of an instrument of government such as the CIA, which necessarily operates in secrecy, may be justified." After noting several of CIA's "vital services" and operational successes, the author then states that at this period of détente, CIA's basic principles are being questioned, its performances re-evaluated, and its methods of operation attacked.

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4. Kim notes five areas of attack on CIA: the usual "invisible government" theme; that in pursuing short-run goals by "surreptitious means", CIA may destroy "the fabric of free, open, democratic society at home and abroad"; that CIA has "tarnished" the image of American students; that CIA's "infiltration into education and labor organizations subverts the "private" character of such organizations; and finally, that

"... the aura surrounding the CIA's furtive methods as it pries into the internal affairs of other states is repugnant and distasteful to the American sense of 'fair play' and violates traditional ethical standards." (p. 6)

5. Kim writes that CIA proponents put up defenses to these charges in the following ways: That certain vital information in the political, military and scientific fields is "so critical and sensitive that it cannot be made public; that "intelligence is indispensable to security"; that CIA ends may justify some of its means; that we may have to fight fire with fire; and that the "danger" of CIA diminishes if democratic government exercises responsibility.

6. Kim states that "this reader" will provide the student of politics with carefully selected readings on the problem of secrecy in a democracy. He notes that it is

"designed to help the reader to examine the rationale for the establishment of the CIA, to investigate its functions and performance, and to explore the consequences and controversies arising from the secret nature of its operations." (p. 9)

7. We have been advised that, at the suggestion of a Harvard professor, the publishers sent the original manuscript of this book to William Harris, an Associate at the Center for International Affairs at Harvard. Mr. Harris urged the rewriting of the introductory material to remove some of its anti-Agency bias, suggested some more balanced material to be included and tried to improve the suggestions for further readings. He succeeded in having the editor remove certain particularly objectionable titles, such as those by Joachim Joesten, and adding some more useful titles such as Dulles' The Craft of Intelligence to the suggested

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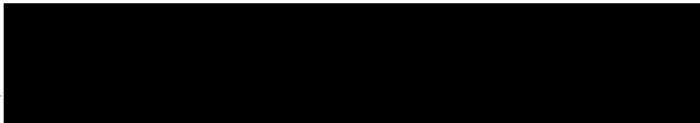
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readings. Kim evidently accepted Harris' recommendation to include the excerpt from Cottam to counterbalance the Blackstock piece but did not add the extracts from The New York Times series of April 1966 to round out the commentary on oversight problems. Harris would have preferred to have had the whole manuscript rewritten but, since the publisher and the editor of the series seemed satisfied with the original, Harris felt constrained only to urge these modifications.

8. From this reviewer's point of view, the main thing wrong with this "reader" is the basic viewpoint from which it is written; namely that what CIA has done is pretty much all wrong in a democracy, but that there are some defenses to these things which should be noted by the general student. Actually, it would be preferable if The Central Intelligence Agency presented a better series of selections from those books and articles available which could present the Agency affirmatively in its correct light, while noting certain valid criticisms in the more balanced manner of The New York Times series. It is hoped that at some future date such a "reader" could be produced, either with or without Agency assistance, as this would make a most useful addition to intelligence literature at the university level. Such a volume could also serve as a useful tool for our recruiters.

9. A more detailed account of the articles used in The Central Intelligence Agency is attached at Tab A.

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Walter Pforzheimer  
Curator  
Historical Intelligence Collection

Attachment  
Tab A

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Tab A

1. In his first selection, to present the "Background, Power, and Danger of the CIA," the editor includes a lengthy extract from the book entitled Anatomy of the State Department by Smith Simpson, a dissident Foreign Service Officer. This selection contains the usual allegations of difficulties between State and CIA.

2. In his second section, Kim includes three articles in "defense" of the Agency. The first of these is a speech by Frederick Ayer, Jr., formerly Special Assistant for Intelligence to the Secretary of the Air Force in the Eisenhower Administration. This speech is a generalized one on intelligence with no reference to CIA. The second article is the text of Allen Dulles' 1947 memorandum to the Senate Armed Services Committee which was then considering the National Security Act of 1947. It is Mr. Dulles' brief on the need for a centralized intelligence agency. The third article in this section is by Christopher Felix and is extracted from his 1967 article in The Reporter on "The Unknowable CIA." This is Felix' excellent rebuttal to Walter Lippmann's anti-CIA articles at the time of the NSA affair.

3. Section III contains articles "attacking" the CIA by Paul Blackstock, Richard Cottam, Hans Morgenthau and Irving Horowitz. The Blackstock article is extracted from his book The Strategy of Subversion, a book noted neither for its accuracy nor its objectivity regarding the Agency and generally opposed to the idea of covert operations. The Cottam extract, from his book Competitive Interference and Twentieth Century Diplomacy, deals largely with the Bay of Pigs. While Professor Cottam's view of the Agency, as an ex-Agency employee, is a little critical, it is by no means totally hostile. Professor Morgenthau's piece is particularly anti-CIA and deals largely with the Agency's "domestic involvements." Professor Horowitz, a professor of sociology at Washington University (St. Louis), deals in his article with the CIA relationship with Michigan State University. It expresses the horror of certain categories of social scientists with Agency alleged activities.

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REPLACES FORM 36-8  
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